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Languages of Iran:
Past and Present

Iranian Studies
in memoriam
David Neil Mackenzie

Edited by
Eliot Vajda

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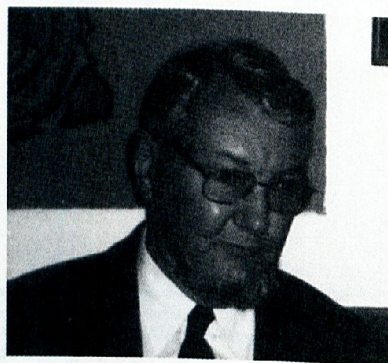
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DAVID NEIL MACKENZIE
on occasion of his
75th birthday

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FOREWORD

When Prof. D.N. MacKenzie celebrated his 75th birthday at his favourite Greek restaurant in Göttingen none of his friends and colleagues would have thought of his untimely death some months later. It was a great shock to all who knew him and who had the great opportunity to work with him. Immediately a plan arose to honour this outstanding man by a collection of various contributions to be presented in a *Volume* as a token of gratitude for what he had given as a teacher, as a colleague or simply as friend.

When the plan was introduced to the audience of the *Collegium Turfanicum* which was held at the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Berlin on 3 April 2002 (*Zum Gedenken an D. N. Mackenzie*) it was welcomed in a very positive way. Now the *Volume* can be presented to the public under the title "Languages of Iran: Past & Present", an appropriate title in my mind that will show the wide range of studies of Prof. D.N. MacKenzie including not only Iranian languages proper but also their contact with neighbouring non-Iranian cultural groupings such as Chinese or Turkish though Iranian and particularly Middle Iranian studies are standing in its focus.

That this *Volume* can appear in an adequate form is the result of many favourable coincidences. I am very indebted to all contributors who made, with their engagement in things Iranian, this *Volume* possible. For generous financial support I have to thank the *Council* of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* (London) and the *Institut für Iranistik* of the *Freie Universität Berlin*. I am grateful to Dr. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst (*Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften – Turfanforschung*) who willingly consented to have his speech of the *Collegium Turfanicum* of 3 April 2002 printed as a kind of introduction to this book as well as for checking the English, to Claudius Naumann (*Institut für Iranistik* of the *Freie Universität Berlin*) for various technical support, and last but not least to Prof. Maria Macuch who accepted the book to be published in the series "Iranica" of which she is the editor. Furthermore, I am indebted to Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams (*School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London) and again to Dr. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst for remarks and comments improving the *Bibliography* of Prof. D.N. MacKenzie.

Though all contributions have been adjusted to a common lay-out they still reflect the personal character of each contributor who, of course, are responsible themselves for ideas or interpretations put forward in their articles.

Moringen, Summer 2005

Dieter Weber

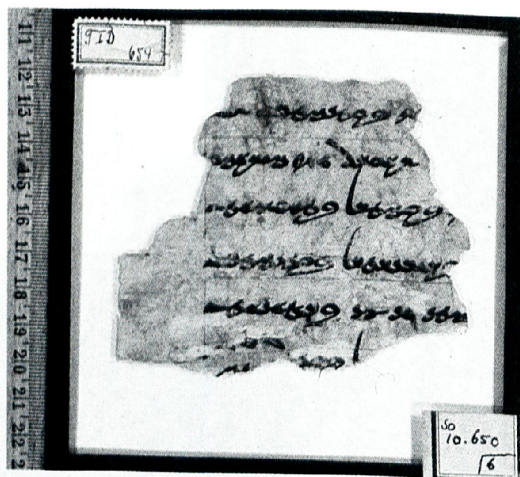


Fig. 9
So 10650(6) (frgm. 5)

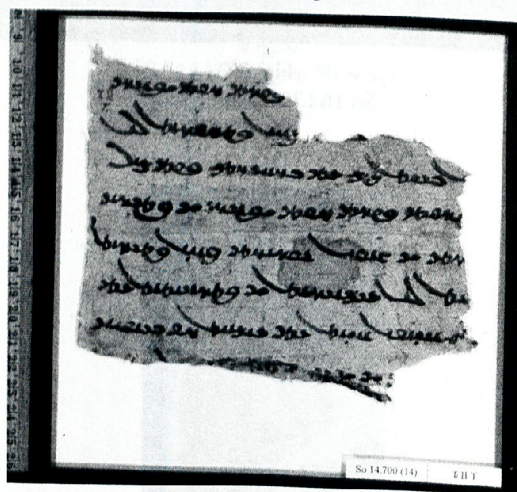


Fig. 10
So 14700(14) (frgm. 6)

The Tāti Dialect of Kalāsūr

EHSAN YARSHATER
New York

1.0. Kalāsūr and Xoynarud are two Tāti-speaking villages in northeastern corner of Azerbaijan near the border of the former Soviet Union, in Kaleybar sub-province (*baxš*), to the east of East-Dizmār rural district (*dehestān*); a similar dialect is spoken in the nearby Varzaqān rural district. Starting from the village of Songin northward, the track reaches first the village of Ardeshir, then Bonyādi, then Upper Xoynarud (*Xoynayrud-e 'olyā*), and then Kalāsūr. Kaleybar baxš ends after the village of Xalili, north of Kalāsūr. Kalāsūr is a village in a mountainous area, situated in a deep valley and surrounded by woods, in which there are bears and boars and therefore the villagers need to be careful walking through them. Kalāsūr had 45 households in the summer of 1971, when I was exploring pockets of Tāti dialects in the area. Its agricultural products were wheat, barley, and alfalfa; there were no orchards of fruits. The village had some 250–300 cows and some 600 sheep and goats.

1.1. As in other parts of Azerbaijan, Turkish has encroached on Tāti-speaking villages of the area and continues to erode their dialects, causing them to disappear. In Kalāsūr the villagers still spoke the Iranian dialect, which they called Tāti, but they all knew Turkish. The influence of Turkish can be seen in the phonology and morphology as well as the vocabulary of the dialect.

1.2. Rajab, the headman of Kalāsūr (40 years old and literate) and another Kalāsūri together with three Xoynarudis were brought at my request to Songin, where I interviewed them. They all said that Kalāsūr and Xoynarud were the only Tāt villages in the region; they had no knowledge of Karingān or Darazin, but Moḥammad Aḥmadiān, a Xoynarudi, whom I met the following year in Tabriz, said that he personally had been in Darazin and Ḥaddādān villages in Northern (former Soviet) Azerbaijan, close to the Iranian border and that their language was about the same as Kalāsūri, except that only the older people knew the language, the younger generations having adopted Turkish. Even in Kalāsūr Tāti was fading out, particularly as Kalāsūri men mostly married Turkish-speaking women from surrounding villages and the children did not learn Tāti.

1.3. The difference between Kalāsūri and Xoynarudi is slight. They are lexically and grammatically close to the dialect of Karingān, a village in East Dizmār rural district and some 28 km north of Varzaqān¹ in Ahar province. Due to their geographical location they all share a number of important features with Tāleši, to the extent that they could be equally considered a branch of northern Tāleši or a bridge between Tāti and Tāleši,

1 Cf. RAZMARA, *Farhang-e Joghrafiā'i-e Iran*, vol. 4, Tehran, 1951, p. 415, under Kerengān.

even though the speakers in these villages call their dialect Tāti. Chief among their common features with Tāleši are: the absence of a verb for 'to have' (see 16.1.) and the expressing of the idea of possession by the verb 'to be' (see 15.0.);² a fairly large number of verbs with only one stem (see 7.0. for some examples);³ the formation of the indicative present, continuous present, and the future with the past stem (see 8.0.);⁴ the base *pi-* 'to want (to)'.⁵

1.4. A noticeable phonological feature of the dialect is the rhoticism of the original intervocalic *d*; e.g., *bere* 'to be', *šere* 'to go', *dure* 'to give', *vur* 'wind', *kar* 'house'. As Kalāsuri and Xoynarudi (henceforth: Xoy.) are almost identical, here I provide a grammatical sketch of Kalāsuri, pointing out the differences with Xoy., where necessary.

Phonology

2.0. The following vowels occur: *i*, *e*, *a*, *ā*, *o*, (*ō*), *u*, *ü*; *ā* is a little rounder than the cardinal /a/; *ō* is slightly closer than /o/ and is relatively infrequent; it occurs in *čöl* 'outdoors', *köč* 'seasonal migration', *dörü* 'lie', *löbüd* 'lip'; however, no contrasting minimal pair was found to distinguish it as a phoneme from *o* and it may be considered an allophone of *o*; /u/ shows a wide range from /u/ to open *o*, depending somewhat on the speaker, it seems, but generally it is opener than the cardinal /u/; it corresponds mostly to Persian *ā*, e.g. *sur* 'year', *zuqul* 'charcoal', *ru* 'road', *mur* 'snake', *u* 'water'; *vur* 'wind'; *ü* is /y/. Minimal pairs distinguishing it from *u* are *rü* 'day' and *ru* 'road', *mü* 'hair' and *mu* 'month', *kür* 'blind' and *kur* 'deaf'.

2.1. It should be noted that some of the vowels have a wide range and show variations even in the speech of the same speaker; for instance, *dada/dadā/dāda* 'father', *ote/ute* 'to say', *ānda/andā/onda/undo* 'in', *āmare/umare/omare* 'to come', *comon/camon/coman* 'my' and the postposition *-rul/-rol/-rā* (the Xoy. informant favored the opener form of *u*).

Familiarity with Turkish seems to have influenced the articulation of *ā* which is made more frontal, and *a* which is made more velar, sometimes equalizing them and, as a result, sometimes making them interchangeable, e.g., *čoman dāsti āstā* / *čoman dasti āsta* 'my hand's bone'; final *-a* in nouns is often pronounced farther back as *-ā* as a result of Turkish influence and vowel harmony.

2.2. The consonants are: *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *č*, *j*, *k*, *g*, *x*, *q*, *f*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *l*, *s*, *z*, *ž*, *š*, *h*, *v*, *w*, *y*.

2.2.1. The pronunciation of *č* is close to *ts* and that of *j* close to *dz*.

2 Cf. E. YARSHATER, "The Taleshi of Asālem", in *Studia Iranica* 25/1, 1996, p. 111, § 55.

3 Cf. B. V. MILLER, *Talyšskij jazyk*, Moscow, Akad. Nauk, 1953, p. 197.

4 Cf. B. V. MILLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 141ff. and E. YARSHATER, *op. cit.*, p. 94, § 22.

5 Cf. B. V. MILLER, *op. cit.*, p. 182; E. YARSHATER, *op. cit.*, p. 110, § 54. Notice, however, that whereas in northern Taleshi *pi-* is used with an ergative construction, in the Taleshi of Asālem it follows normal conjugation.

2.2.2. *k* consists of two variants: a front palatal (*k̂*) and a back or velar (*k*). My informants were quite sensitive to the difference and if I pronounced one instead of the other, they would correct me. However, as I could not find a contrasting minimal pair I have taken them as allophones of the same phoneme (cf. *g*). Their difference depends on their environment, or rather, the ensuing vowel. Notice for instance *hiški* 'no one', *kina* 'girl', but *kešte* 'to kill', *kalaō* 'rooster' (Xoy. *kalayō*); *kārg* 'hen'. In the following pages they have not been distinguished.

2.2.3. The voiced stop *g* also consists of two allophones, one frontal (*ḡ*) which comes close to *j* and the other velar, *g*, close to *q*; (in fact one of my Xoy. informants, Mohammad Aḥmadiān, who was literate, transcribed *g* as Persian *qāf* in *gandem* 'wheat' and *gu* 'cow').

2.3. Assimilation. Cases of assimilation of consonants and vowel harmony occur; for instance the vowel of the modal prefix *be-* varies according to its environment, e.g., *be-da!* 'give!'; *bi-š-har!* 'eat (it)!'; *ba-har!* 'eat!'; *n* followed by an *m* is assimilated to it, e.g., *vimmuna* 'we saw'; *verāmma* (i.e., *verān(d)ma*) 'I sent'.

Morpho-syntax

3.0. Nouns

3.1. Kalāsuri distinguishes in nouns two numbers, singular and plural, and two cases, direct and oblique. Grammatical gender is not distinguished; cf. *zura-m šera* 'my son went'; *kina-m šera* 'my daughter went'. The marker of the direct case is *-ə* in the singular and stressed *-e* in the plural. The marker of the oblique is stressed *-i* in the singular and stressed *-un/-on* in the plural.

3.2. The direct case is used for (1) the subject of an intransitive verb: *bez šerānda* (i.e., *šera-ānda* 'went to/in') *čöl* 'the goat went outdoors'; *bez-e šerind ānda čöl* 'the goats went outdoors'; (2) an indefinite object in a non-ergative construction: *bez besta, pas masta!* 'buy goat(s), do not buy sheep!'; *beneš, viz be-send!* 'sit down (and) crack walnut(s)!'; (3) the object of the verb in an ergative construction: *bezi jaw-š hārda* 'the goat ate grass'; *bezun jawe-š hārdend* 'the goats ate grass (pl.)'; *esbaun vorge-šun vužnirind* 'the dogs drove away the wolves'; (4) the subject of a copula, e.g., *olāt-eš ava čiren* 'his garment is dirty'; *olāte-š ānen/onen čiren* 'his garments are dirty'; (5) vocative, e.g., *Zeynab, če-eš gode?* 'Zeynab, what are you doing?'

3.3. The oblique case is used for (1) the genitive: *čomon dāsti āstā* 'the bone of my hand'; (2) the definite object of a transitive verb in a non-ergative construction: *bezi bebānda* (i.e., *beba ānda*) *čöl!* 'take the goat outdoors'; (3) the object of a postposition (except *ve* 'without'): *Hasani ona beš* 'go with Hasan'; *Hasani ku beporst!* 'ask Hasan!'; *Hasani ru be(v)ut!* 'tell Hasan!'; and (4) the logical subject (grammatical object) of past transitive

verbs in ergative constructions: *pasi jaw-š hārda* 'the sheep (sing.) ate grass'; *pasun jawe-š hārdend* 'the sheep (pl.) ate grass (pl.)'; *esbaun vorge-šun vužnirind* 'the dogs drove away the wolves'.

3.3.1. When a noun ends in a vowel, the oblique marker is absorbed by it, e.g., *asta sar* 'top of the bone'; *körpü čü* 'wood of the bridge'; *čomon zura dāst* 'my son's hand'; *čomon berā dāst* 'my brother's hand'; *kalaō kaš* 'rooster's feather'; *dī udame* 'people of the village'.

3.4. *Definition* has no special device, but the object of a verb is not put in the oblique case unless it is definite, cf. *bez bestā, pas mastā!* 'buy goat(s), do not buy sheep!', but *bezi bebānda* (i.e., *beba ānda*) *čöl!* 'take the goat outdoors!'.

4.0. Adjectives

4.1. *Attributive adjectives* normally precede the nouns they modify and are linked with them by an unstressed *-a*, e.g., *āla vel* 'red flower'; *koya usmun* 'blue sky' (*qadim merde* 'old men' is an exception). No particular form was noticed for comparative adjectives; Xoy. *Tābrizini Abirini čuk-a* 'Tabrizi is better than Ahari (sing.)'.

4.2. *Predicative adjectives* follow the noun that they modify and often the copula as well, and do not take *-a*, e.g., *vel ava āl* 'the flower is red'; *šet ava tāt* 'the milk is hot'; *em liva sar(i)-rang-a* 'this leaf is yellow-colored'.

4.3. *Possessive adjectives* are: *čomon*, *ešte*, *čave*, *čamen* (Xoy. *čame*), *šemen* (Xoy. *šeme*), *čaon/čemun*, 'my, yours, etc.', e.g., *u are-ka čomon sa e ru!* 'pour water on my head and face!'

5.0. Pronouns

5.1. *Demonstrative pronouns* are:

	Direct	Oblique		Direct	Oblique
Proximate			Remote		
sing.	<i>em</i>	<i>eme</i>	sing.	<i>av</i>	<i>avelavi</i>
pl.	<i>eme(n)</i>	<i>emun</i>	pl.	<i>ave</i>	<i>avun</i>

Note that both singular proximate and remote are used also as personal pronouns. In *emi-é varé* 'before this, earlier', the oblique *eme* has redundantly taken also the nominal oblique marker *-e* (*var* is the equivalent of Persian *piš-e*, French 'chez', *varé* is its oblique form).

5.2. *Possessive pronouns*. These are formed by attaching *-kin* to the possessive adjectives: *čomon-kin* 'mine', *ešte-kin* 'yours', *čave-kin* 'his/her', *čamen-kin* 'ours', *šemen-kin* (Xoy. *šem-kin*) 'yours', *čemun-kin* 'theirs'; e.g., *av(e) ešte-kin-a* 'that is yours'.

5.3. *Personal pronouns*. Two sets of personal pronouns are employed:

(1) The direct case pronouns: 1. *mān*, 2. *te*, 3. *av*, 4. *ame*, 5. *šeme*, 6. *ave*; e.g., *mān genestim* 'I fell'; *ame māndimun* 'we stayed'; the 3rd persons singular and plural are, in fact, demonstrative pronouns

(2) the oblique case pronouns are the same as the direct case ones, except for the 3rd persons, which use the oblique of the demonstrative pronouns, both proximate and remote, thus: 1. *mān*, 2. *te*, 3. *emelave*, 4. *ame*, 5. *šeme*, 6. *emun/avun*; e.g., *mān uštān rā-m beba* 'take me with yourself' (*-m* resumes *mān* in enclitic form); *ave babārdem* 'I carry him'.

5.4. *Enclitic pronouns*. These are: 1. *-(e)m*, 2. *-(e)r*, 3. *-š/-č*, 4. *-(e)mun*, 5. *-(e)run*, 6. *-šun/-čun*. Note that in the 3rd person singular and plural the buffer *e* is generally absent; when they are preceded by a consonant, *-š* changes to *-č*, often voiced as *-j*. For instance *ut-č-a/ut-j-a* and in rapid speech *ujja* (with assimilation) 'he/she said'; *gāt-čuna* 'they took'; *ut-jun-a* 'they said'; *hān-j-a* 'he read'; *verān-j-a* 'he sent'.

5.4.1. The enclitic pronouns function as (1) the agent of the past transitive verbs in an ergative construction, e.g., *ave ru (v)ute-m-a* 'to him I said'; *mo ru ut-č-a* 'to me he said' (*molmā ru* is the shortened form of *mon/mān ru*); *hazrate Husayn-čun kešta* 'they killed Saint Hosain'; *em-čun šāhā(r) ke estara* '(when) they captured this city (i.e. Tabriz)'; *kina-je-š gāt-čun-a asir* 'they took also his daughter captive'. In *fit-j-ind ru* 'he started them on the way (lit. by him they were thrown [on the] road)' the 3rd person pronoun *-š* has become voiced as *j*. The following paradigm was provided by one of the informants: (v) *ut-e-m-a*, *ut-e-r-a*, *ut-j-a*, *ut-e-mun-a*, *ut-e-run-a*, *ut-jun-a* 'I said (i.e., was said by me), you said', etc.; (2) as the object of a transitive verb in a non-ergative construction, e.g., *u-š kašt!* 'extinguish it!'; (3) as an indirect object: *xedu amer-š be-dayi* 'may God give him (long) life!'; (4) as possessive pronouns, e.g., *dada-mun* 'our father'; *dasti-r beda mān* 'give me your hand'; *sāya-š čomon dimay* (i.e., *dima-i*) *sa asug ma-kar-i* 'may [God] not diminish his protection of us (lit. may [he] not make less his shadow over our face)'.

5.4.2. In such constructions, particularly in imperatives, *-š* has lost its objectal meaning and *bi-š* is used as a modal preverb, thus *bi-š veran!* 'send!'; *bi-š na ben!* 'put down!'; *vura-š da!* 'throw!'; *bāz bi-š hare!* 'let him eat!'. In all such examples the enclitic pronoun comes between the modal prefix *be-* (palatalized to *bi-* before *š*) and the verb.

5.5. The *Reflexive pronoun* is *uštān*, e.g., *mon uštān mar-em* 'I come myself'; *uštān mer-emun ānda ešten yān* 'we ourselves will come towards you'; *Abdollah tapānča-y-on(a) uštān-eš žar-č-u* 'Abdollah shot himself with the gun'; *uštān je beneštān, nun baharān!* '(you) yourselves, too, sit down (and) eat! (lit. eat bread)'.

5.6. *Interrogative pronouns.* The following occurred: *če* 'what?', *kev* 'where?', *kerengu* 'where?';⁶ e.g., *če vax* 'when?'; *qan kev-a?* 'where is (the lump) sugar?'

5.7. *Relative pronoun.* In the following sentence *ke* occurred as a relative pronoun: *ar ke enu šere* 'he who was going'.

The Verb

6. The verbal system follows the general pattern found in Tāti and Tāleši dialects: it employs two stems, stem I and II, verbal prefixes (*u-*, *pe-*, *vur-*, *vi-*, here called 'preverbs'); the modal prefix *be-*, the prohibitive marker *ma-*; the negative marker *ne-*, and the personal endings. Stem I is used in the formation of the imperative, the subjunctive, and the conditional present and is what is otherwise called the present stem. Stem II which is commonly identified as the past stem is used in the formation of the other tenses and moods (see 8.0.). In a fairly large number of verbs the stem II has been generalized, replacing the stem I (see 7.0. for examples).

6.1. Three sets of endings can be distinguished: the imperative, i.e., *-ø* and *-ān*, the subjunctive, i.e., 1. *-m*, 2. *-i*, 3. *-e*, 4. *-ām*, 5. *-e*, 6. *-n(d)*, and the general endings, namely, 1. *-m*, 2. *-š*, 3. *-e*, 4. *-mun*, 5. *-ru(n)*, 6. *-n(d)*. When the verbal stem ends in a consonant a connective vowel (*-e-* or *-i-*) comes between the stem and the ending.

7.0. The *Imperative* consists of the stem of the verb and the modal prefix *be-*, provided that the verb contains no preverb. The endings are *-ø* for the singular and *-ān/-un* for the plural, e.g., *be-ser!* 'laugh!', *u-ka!* 'open!', *ba-ha(r)!* 'eat!', *bi-š da!* 'give!', *bi-š har!* 'eat!' (see 5.4.2.), *b-u!* 'come!'. Some examples of the verbs with only one stem: *Hasane ku be-porst!* 'ask Hasan!'; *Hasane ru be-(v)ut!* 'say to Hasan!'; *u-š kešt* 'extinguish it!'; *be-het!* 'sleep!'; *be-mast!* 'hear!'; *be-berāt!* 'sell!'; *be-rušt!* 'spread!'; *be-hānd!* 'read!'; *bi-š kāšt!* 'sow!'; *be-kānd!* 'dig!'; *ma-gāt/ma-god!* 'don't do!'.

7.1. The *prohibitive* is formed like the imperative except that it takes the marker *ma-* instead of the modal prefix *be-*, e.g., *ma-ser!* 'don't laugh!'; *ma-serān!* 'don't you laugh!'; *ma-š nesu!* 'don't go (into) the woods!'; *ma-harān/harun!* 'don't you eat!'.

7.2. The *Subjunctive* is formed with the stem I, the modal prefix *be-* if the verb contains no preverb, and the subjunctive endings (see 6.1.), e.g., *mān pist-a beru-m ru pinš teman bed-em* 'I must give my brother five tomans'; *enim-ušt ke zura-m ru žan be-sta-r-em (-r-* is a buffer between the two vowels) 'I want to take a wife for my son'; *te eniš ušte ke beheti?* 'do you (sing.) want to sleep?'; *av ena ušte ke behete* 'he wants to sleep'. The paradigm for 'to close' (with preverb *vi-*) is as follows: 1. *vi-kar-em*, 2. *vi-kar-i*, 3. *vi-kar-e*, 4. *vi-kar-ām*, 5. *vi-kar-i*, 6. *vi-kar-end* '(that) I close, (that) you close', etc. The endings

that consist of a single vowel and the initial vowels of the other endings are somewhat fluid, apparently depending on their environment and personal tendencies. The ending of the 3rd person singular vacillates between closed *-e* and *-i* and that of the 3rd person plural between *-in(d)* and *-en(d)*. One of my informants also used *-im* as the ending for 1st person plural (Persian influence?). The above paradigm was obtained, however, after a good deal of questioning.

7.2.1. When the stem ends in a vowel, the initial vowel of the ending is usually absorbed by it, e.g., 1. *mon pis-m-a ke be-šu-m doktor*, 2. *bešu*, 3. *bešu/bašo*, 4. *bešum*, 5. *bešun* (sic), 6. *bešun* 'I want to go to a doctor', 'you want to go', etc.

7.3. The *Conditional present* is made with the stem I plus the modal prefix *be-* and the enclitic past of the verb 'to be', that is, 1. *u-m*, 2. *u-š*, 3. *-u*, 4. *u-mun*, 5. *u-r(un)*, 6. *u-n*, e.g., *izem be-ānjār-um čānd-iš⁷ durani* '(if) I cut firewood how much would you give (me)?' The conditional is often expressed by the rising intonation of the apodosis; *emun be-ānjār-uš, de-r teman ba-dur-em* 'if you cut these, I will give you two tomans'; *be-tārs-uš, pis iš-av* 'if you are scared, it is bad'; *ave be-hār-und, nāsāz ni-band* 'if they eat, they do not become sick'; *mān be-hār-um, nāsāz im-ab* 'if I eat, I become sick' (for *-ab* see 18.1.); *aga mān buy-um, rav marem* 'if I come, I will come early' (but see 8.5. and 8.6).

7.3.1. The formation of the conditional present may alternatively be formulated as the stem I plus the modal prefix *be-*, and the marker *-u* followed by the endings which are 1. *-m*, 2. *-š*, 3. *-ø*, 4. *-mun*, 5. *-r(un)*, 6. *-n*, which differ only slightly from the general endings (see 6.1.).

8.0. *Tenses built on the stem II.* These are the present, the continuous present, the continuous past, the preterit, the perfect, the pluperfect, the imperfect, the subjunctive perfect, the conditional past, and the future.

8.1. The *Present* which can also serve as the future tense (beside the future proper), consists of stem II plus a stressed *-e* (which seems however to have a gerundive sense in the formation of a number of tenses, and therefore, I shall call it a gerund) plus the modal prefix *be-/ba-* and a variation of the general personal endings: 1. *-m*, 2. *-š*, 3. *-a*, 4. *-mun*, 5. *-r*, 6. *-nd*. In the 3rd person singular the combination of the marker and the ending results in *-ia*, e.g., *behet-e-m*, *behet-e-š*, *behet-i-a*, *behet-e-mun*, *behet-e-r*, *behet-e-nd* 'I sleep, you sleep' etc.; *ba-dur-em*, *ba-dur-e-š* 'I give, you give' etc.; *ba-vrit-e-m* 'I run'; *zura-m ba-žar-e-m* 'I (will) hit my son'; *mar-e-m* 'I come'; *mar-i-a* 'he comes'; *belbaš-e-m*, *baš-e-š*, *baš-i-a*, *baš-e-n(d)* 'I go, you go, he/she goes, they go'.

8.2. The *Preterit* of intransitive verbs is formed by stem II plus the preterit marker, unstressed *-i-*, except for the 3rd person where the marker is not used, and the general

6 That is, *keren-gu*, with *keren* corresponding to Persian *kodām* (suggested by Donald STILO).

7 Notice that *-i(š)*, the "ending" of the 2nd person singular precedes the verb.

personal endings (see 6.1.), with the stress falling on the last syllable of the stem. This may be also formulated by saying that the preterit is formed with the stem II plus the present of the verb 'to be' (in the 2nd Person plural -*r* seems to be the shortened form of -*run*), e.g., *zir genest-i-m*, *zir genest-i-š*, *zir genest-a*, *genest-i-muna*, *genest-i-r*, *genest-i-n* 'yesterday I fell, yesterday you fell' etc. Some other examples are: *umar-i-m* 'I came'; *šer-i-m* 'I went'; *het-i-m* 'I slept'; *ayšt-i-m* 'I got up'; *veyrit-i-m* 'I ran'; *serest-i-m* 'I laughed'; *baramest-i-m* 'I wept'; *zir genest-i-m are bum* 'yesterday I fell to the ground' (for the position of the preverb *are*, see 8.3.1.); *zir ne-genest-i-m* 'yesterday I did not fall'; *merde hamma-š šerind* 'the men all went'.

8.3. The *Preterit* of transitive verbs is subject to the ergative construction and therefore agrees, not with the agent of the verb, but with its logical object. It has only two forms, built like the 3rd person singular and plural of the intransitive verb, depending on whether the logical object is singular or plural. The persons are indicated by the oblique pronouns, but more generally by the enclitic pronouns which are often attached to the logical object of the verb, e.g., *nün-em estara* 'I bought bread'; *esba-un vorg-e-šun vužnir-ind* 'the dogs chased away the wolves'; *bel-e-m dur-ind temiz-eš karend* 'I gave the spades to be cleaned' (lit. [that] they clean). When the enclitic pronouns are attached to the verb as its agent, they come between the stem and the ending, e.g., *dur-m-a* 'I gave'; *estar-em-a* 'I bought'; *vār-čun-ind Ābār* 'they took them to Ahar'. The vowel -*e*- which connects the enclitic pronoun to the past stem is often faint and is generally dropped in rapid speech, e.g., *ret-(e)m-a* 'I poured'; *go-m-a* 'I did'; *mas-m-a* 'I heard'; *ker-enir-m-a* 'I drew'; *herāt-m-a* 'I sold'; *dur-m-a* 'I gave'; *nur-m-a* 'I put'; *bā-m-a* 'I read'; *bār-m-a* 'I ate'; *kāš-m-a* 'I planted'; *go-m-a herd* 'I made into pieces' (lit. made small, cf. Persian *xord kardān*); *sendir-m-a* (the stem is Turk.) 'I broke'; *ave ut-jun-a* 'they said to him'. Sometimes the ending of the 3rd person singular is dropped, e.g., *gandem-em verušt* 'I spread the wheat'.

8.3.1. When the verb has a preverb, the preverb follows the plain stem, e.g., *bar-em gode-u* 'I opened the door' (*u-gode* 'to open'); *seq-em dur-a-vur* 'I threw a stone' (*vur-da* 'throw!').

8.4. The *perfect* of intransitive verbs is apparently formed by the stem II, followed by a stressed -*a* and the general endings. The transitive perfect has, like the preterit, only two forms which follow the formation of the intransitive in the 3rd person singular and plural. Examples from Xoy.: *ān-in(d) vute ke māšin ar ginesta are, sar-eš sista, paše māt vimmiūn-a ke dōria, māšin ar are ne-ginesta, sar-eš ne-sista* 'they are saying that he has fallen from the car (and) his head was broken, then we saw that it is a lie, he has not fallen from the car and his head was not broken'; Xoy., *qalaba-eš qesa vuta, avun te ro ute ni-m-ast* 'many things (lit. tales) he has told (that) I cannot tell you' (the enclitic pronoun -*š* indicates the agent of *vuta*).

In transitive verbs when the enclitic agent is attached to the verb, the perfect marker -*a* follows the enclitic pronouns, as is the case in the preterit, e.g., *māt ave ro qalaba qese-*

hā vut-m-a 'I have told him many things'; *te vut-em-a* 'you (sing.) have said to me'; but the enclitic pronoun may be absent: *ame vuta* 'we have said'; *ame ne vuta, avun vuta* 'we have not said, they have said'. However, in most cases my informants used the preterit instead of the perfect and it was not always possible to distinguish between the two. Apparently the perfect has limited use in the dialect.

8.5. The *Pluperfect* of intransitive verbs is formed like the preterit, except that the marker is -*u* instead of -*i* (or one might say it is formed with the stem II of the verb, and the enclitic preterit of the verb 'to be'), that is, 1. -*um/-un*, 2. -*uš*, 3. -*u*, 4. -*umun*, 5. -*ur*, 6. -*und*, e.g., *te umar-uš mon šerun* 'when you came (lit. you had come) I had (already) gone'; *māt ru na-vute, šeru agu* 'without telling me he had gone there'; Xoy. *teymaruš* (i. e., *te imar-uš*)⁹ *čame kar, mon šerun beru-m vinde* 'you had come to our house, (but) I had gone to see my brother'; *šerur kerengu?* 'where had you (pl.) gone?'; *ave šerund* 'they had gone'.

8.5.1. The *Pluperfect* of transitive verbs is subject to the ergative construction and is formed like the 3rd person of singular and plural of the intransitive pluperfect, with the enclitic pronouns, which precede the endings, indicating the persons; e.g., *Abdulā Xān tapānča-y-ān ušān-eš zar-č-u refang-je-š sendir-č-u* 'Abdollah Khan had hit himself with a pistol, also had broken his gun' (-*č*- for -*š*- resumes the agent, Abdollah Khan); *vagti ke vurun umar-u, mon gandem-em dur-u kura* 'when it rained (lit. had rained) I had (already) gathered the wheat' (*kura da-/kura-dur-* 'to gather'); *av zunest-čū pule an-im kerengu* 'he had known where the money was (lit. is)'.

8.6. The *Imperfect* of intransitive verbs is formed with the gerund of the verb (or the infinitive, see 8.1.), that is, stem II, followed by a stressed -*e*, and preceded by the modal prefix *be*, with the enclitic preterit of 'to be' serving as the personal endings, e.g., *māt da har-ruž čor sohat be-het-e-um, ... be-het-e-uš, ... behet-e-u, ... be-het-e-umun, ... be-het-e-ur, ... be-het-e-un* 'I used to sleep four hours every day, you used to sleep', etc.; *man agar rav bešera-im barusne-um* 'had I gone (conditional past, see below) earlier, I would have arrived'; *ba-rusne-uš, ba-rusne-u*, etc. 'you would reach, he/she would reach', etc. The difference between the imperfect and the pluperfect seems to be that the former employs the modal prefix *be*.

8.6.1. When the imperfect is preceded by the negative particle *ne*- the endings (the enclitic preterit of 'to be') follows it and both precede the modal prefix *be*-, e.g., *dada-m pinč sobate ku qalabe ne-u-be-het-e* 'my father used not to sleep more than five hours'.

8.6.2. The imperfect of transitive verbs is formed like the 3rd person singular and plural of the intransitive verbs with the oblique or enclitic pronouns (or both) indicating the agent, as expected in an ergative construction, e.g., *māt pur hār-ruž here dafa nun be-*

8 -*hā* as a plural marker is a Persianism and redundant in this example.

9 In Kalāsuri this would be *umar-uš*, that is, with the preverb *u-* instead of *i-*.

borde-um 'last year, I used to eat (lit. eat bread) three times a day'; *ne-u-m-u-hord* 'I used not to eat' (the second *-u-* seems to be redundant). Cf. *dadam pur hārruž dāsnamuz girote* (Xoy. *gāte*), *namuž ute enu šere nesu* 'my father, last year, used to make ablution every day, would say (his) prayers (and) would go to the woods' (notice that in the two first verbs *-u* is missing, as if the *-u* of the third verb serves all three).

8.7. The *Continuous present* is a periphrastic tense which is basically built with the free-standing present of the verb 'to be' indicating the persons, followed by the gerund, e.g., *enem gāndem kust-e* 'I am threshing wheat'; *eniš gāndem kuste* 'you are threshing wheat'. The other persons of the substantive verb are: 3. *ena*, 4. *enemun*, 5. *enerun*, 6. *enin* (in Xoy. *ānim*, *āniš*, etc.).

8.7.1. In the first person singular sometimes the enclitic form instead of the free-standing form of 'to be' is employed (i.e., without *en-/ān-*) which in transitive verbs follows the logical object, e.g., *olat-em šušte* 'I am washing clothes'; *gāndem-em kuste* 'I am threshing wheat'; *sel-em rust are-gode/gote* 'I am preparing dung cakes (sing.) (*rust are-gode* 'to make ready', cf. *Zeynab, če-eš gode?* 'Zeynab, what are you doing?').

8.7.2. If the verb has a preverb, the present of 'to be' follows it: *bare ā-y-em gode/bare u-y-em gode* 'I am opening the door' (*ā-/u-gode* 'to open', *-y-* is a connective sound).

8.8. The *Continuous past* follows the pattern of the continuous present, but uses the preterit of the verb 'to be' instead of the present (see 15.6.), e.g., *zir če uš gode?* 'what were you doing yesterday?'; *enum olat šušte* 'I was washing clothes'; *enun izem onjāre* (elsewhere *ānjār-*) 'I was cutting firewood'; *av enu onjāre* 'he was cutting (wood)'. An alternative form is to use *av-* instead of *en-*, e.g., *av-um izem onjāre* 'I was cutting wood'; *av-uš olat šušte* 'you (sing.) were washing clothes'. In fact, the use of *en-* or *av-* (essentially proximate and remote demonstratives) seems to be optional for the purpose.

8.9. The *Conditional past* is built on the pattern of the conditional present (see 7.3.) except that it is built on the stem II, e.g., *agar mām be-šera-im nesu* 'if I were to go to the woods'; *mām be-vrit-a-im*, *-aiš*, *-aimun*, *-arir*, *-aind* '(if) I were to run', etc.

8.9.1. The sole example of the 3rd person singular of the transitive verb, *Hasan bezuneste-u* '(if) Hasan had known/knew' was not different from the imperfect.

8.10. Note that in the conditional clauses involving an irrealis the conditional verb (apodosis) and the verb in the subordinate clause (protasis) use different tenses, namely, conditional past in the apodosis and the imperfect in the protasis, e.g., *mon agar rav bešera-im*, *ba-rusne-um* 'had I gone earlier, I would have arrived (on time)'; *te agar rav bešera-iš*, *ba-rusne-uš* 'had you (sing.) gone earlier, you would have arrived (on time)'; *aga ber-a-y* (i.e., *ber-a-i*) 'if it were', cf. *bi-m beray* '(if) I had' (lit. if it were to me; see 16.1.); *ba-dura-eš-uš* 'you (sing.) would have given it'; *ba-dura-eš-u* 'he would have given it'.

8.11. The *Future* is formed by the future participle (stem II plus *-ani*)¹⁰ and the present of the verb 'to be', e.g., *ave ru utema ke umarani nim* 'I told him that I will not come'; *te umarani niš* 'you will not come'; *em ešre pili hārdani-a* 'this (person) will embezzle (lit. eat) your money'; *de sure paše šerani-m Karbala*, *šeraniš*, *šerania*, *ame šeranimun*, *šeme šeranir*, *ave šeranind* 'next year, I will go to Karbala, you will go, he will go', etc.

9.0. The *Passive*. Kalāsuri shows no particular formation for the passive. In several examples where Persian used the passive, Kalāsuri employed *beronda* with the stress on the last syllable, the past participle(?)¹¹ of the verb 'to be, to become'; e.g., *bar če-m gode ke em gužd be-bü*, *beronda ni* 'whatever I do so that this meat be cooked (lit. that it become), it does not get cooked (lit. is not become)'; *em izem onjāre beronda ni* 'this firewood is not being cut (easily) (lit. become cut)'.

10.0. The *Causative* is formed by adding *-un* to stem I or to the generalized stem, e.g., *ma-tāž-un* 'do not gallop (the horse)!', do not make run fast!'; *em herdani ma-vrit-un!* 'do not make this child run!'; *herdani be-bet-un!* 'put the child to bed (lit. sleep)!'; *ānem mušte ke emi bebram-un-em* 'I want to make him cry'; *aga herdani be-ser-un-um*, *del-eš ba-daštia* 'if I make the child laugh, it will have a stomach ache'.

10.1. The past stem of the causative is formed by adding *-ir-* (with typical rhoticism < *ṛ* to the present causative stem,¹² e.g., *herdani-r hetun-ir-a?* 'did you put the child to bed?'; *herdan-im hetun-ir-a* 'I put the child to bed'; *mallu šera sa manbare beramun-ir-ča* 'the mulla mounted the pulpit and made (people) cry'. Note that all my examples with *-ir* are the preterit.

11.0. Non-finite forms

11.1. A form with the gerundive sense used in a number of periphrastic tenses (see 8.1. & 8.6.) is built by adding an stressed *-e* to the stem II (see the preterit, the imperfect, and the conditional present and past for examples).

12.0. The infinitive is formed by the stem II plus a stressed *-e* (the same form as the gerund, see above), e.g., *hete ne-u-mun-ast* 'we could not sleep'; *(v)ute ne-u-mun-ast* 'we could not say'; *agar gorete b-ast-em*, *pe-y-m age* 'if I can seize (it), I lift (it)'; *pe gorete ni-m-ast* 'I cannot lift' (*pe gorete* 'to take up, to lift').

13.0. The *Past Participle* is formed by adding a stressed *-a* to stem II, e.g., *derista* 'torn'; *pesista* 'undone'; *gužd-e čuk pāta bar-ma* 'I ate well-cooked meat' (with *ezāfe* construction as a Persianism); *hešk bera*, lit. 'been dried'.

10 Cf. the Tāleši future participle in *-anin*, B. V. MILLER, *op.cit.*, pp. 158–59.

11 Apparently *ber-* + *ānda/unda* 'been in/been to'.

12 Pointed out by Donald STILO.

13.1. When the past participle is used as an attributive adjective, *-a* coalesces with the connective *-a* which joins an adjective to its modified noun, with the stress falling on the latter, e.g. *vašta zuqu* 'burnt charcoal'; *vašesta u(v)* 'poured water'; *kusta gāndem* 'pounded wheat'.

14.0. The *Future Participle* is formed by adding *-ani* to stem II (cf. the formation of the present from stem II; see 8.11.), e.g., *em ādam pārca kustani-a* 'this person is a cloth weaver'; *em osb ena šit, ru šerani ni* 'this horse is crazy, it is not easy going (lit. road goer)'; *em ādam estar-ani ni* 'this person is not a buyer (i.e., he does not intend to buy)'. In *umara* (Xoy., *imara*) *sor* 'the coming year', what looks like a past participle has the meaning of a present participle.

Certain Verbs

15.0. 'To be'

15.1. The *present indicative* of 'to be' has two forms: enclitic and free-standing. The enclitic ones consist of the present stem *i-* and a variant of the general personal endings (see 6.1.), thus: 1. *-im*, 2. *-iš*, 3. *-a*, 4. *-imun*, 5. *-irun*, 6. *-in* 'I am, you are, he is, etc.'; e.g., *mān nāsāz-im*, *te nāsāz-iš*, *av/em nāsāz-a*, *amen nāsāz-imun*, *šeme nāsāz-ir*, *ave nāsāz-en* 'I am sick, you are sick, etc.' NB The initial vowel *i* has a range between *e* and *i*.

15.2. The free-standing forms are the same, but they are preceded by either *en-* or *av-* (originally proximate and remote demonstrative pronouns): 1. *enim/lavem*, 2. *eniš/laviš*, 3. *enalave*, 4. *enimun/lavemun*, 5. *enirun/laver(un)*, 6. *enin/laven*; e.g., *mān enim/lavem nāsāz*, *te eniš/laviš nāsāz* 'I am sick, you are sick, etc.'. The free-standing forms are used as the auxiliary in the formation of the continuous present (see 8.7.). NB In Xoy. *ān-* is generally used instead of *en-*, e.g., *mān ānim nāsāz* 'I am sick'.

15.3. The negative present of 'to be' is formed by adding the negative marker *n(e)* to the enclitic forms: 1. *nim*, 2. *niš*, 3. *ni(a)* (i.e., *ne-a*), 4. *nimun*, 5. *nirun*, 6. *nind*.

15.4. A secondary form for 'to be, to exist' is built with the stem *hest*, followed by the enclitic form of the present of the verb 'to be' (the ending for the 3rd person sing., however, is nil), e.g., *xedu hest* 'God exists'; *mān je engö hestim* 'I, too, am here'; *te je engö hestiš* 'you (sing.), too, are here'. NB The base *hest* is also used to express possession (see 15.6.1.).

15.5. The *Subjunctive* of 'to be' which serves also as the conditional present is formed with the present stem of a different root (**bav-*), the modal prefix *be-* and a variant of the general endings which are: 1. *-m*, 2. *-š*, 3. *-ø*, 4. *-mun*, 5. *-r*, 6. *-endi*; the use of prefix *be-*, however, seems to be optional, e.g., *xiāl-em hestu ke agu bu-m* 'I had in mind to be there'; *har če-m gode ke em gužd bebu, nebera* 'no matter what I did so that this meat gets

cooked, it did not get cooked (lit. whatever I did that this meat become, it did not become)'; 1. *agu bebiūm marem*, 2. *agu bebiš mariš*, 3. *agu bebi maria* (sic), 4. *agu biūmun maremun*, 5. *agu bür marer*, 6. *agu būnd marend*, '(if) I am there, I shall come, (if) you are there, you will come. (if) he is there, he will come, etc.' (*bu-* and *bü-* alternate in my notes).

15.6. The *Preterit* of 'to be', like the present, has two forms: enclitic and free-standing. The enclitic form consist of the stem *u-* and a variant of the general personal endings: 1. *-u-m*, 2. *-u-š*, 3. *-u*, 4. *-u-mun*, 5. *-u-run*, 6. *-u-n*, e.g., *mon herdan-um* '(when) I was a child'. The free-standing ones are formed by adding *en-* to the enclitic ones, thus: 1. *en-u-m*, 2. *en-u-š*, 3. *en-u*, 4. *en-u-mun*, 5. *en-ur(un)*, 6. *en-u-n*. Notice that in the 3rd person singular no ending is employed; no form with *av-* was provided.

15.6.1. A second preterit of 'to be' is made with the stem *hest* plus the enclitic preterit of 'to be': 1. *hestum*, 2. *hestuš*, 3. *hestu*, 4. *hestumun*, 5. *hestur*, 6. *hestund*, (*-u-* in this case vacillates between *o* and *u*), e.g., *nesu-ānda aš (h)estu* 'in the woods there was bear'.

15.6.2. A third form of the preterit of 'to be' is built with *ber-*, the past stem of the root **bav-*, the modal prefix *be-* and the enclitic forms of the present of 'to be' as endings, e.g., *aisa ke berim yaka* 'when I grew up' (lit. when I was/became big; see also the preterit of 'to become' 18.2.).

15.7. The *Pluperfect* of 'to be' is formed by the past stem *ber-* and the pluperfect endings, e.g., *ave ber-u nāsāz* 'he had been/had become sick'.

15.8. According to the following example the conditional past is built with the past participle *bera*, the modal prefix *be-* and the marker *i*, *aga bi-m beray* (i.e., *-a-i*), *ba-dur-eš-u* 'if I had (money), I had given it to you (sing.)'.

16.0. 'To have'

16.1. Kalāsuri has no independent verb for 'to have', but uses the verb 'to be' with an indirect object to convey the meaning of possession. The possessor, be it a noun or a pronoun, is put in the oblique case, whereas the thing possessed is put in the direct case as in an ergative construction; an enclitic pronoun often represents or resumes the logical subject, e.g., *mon de-m korg hest* 'I have two hens' (lit. to me is two hens, with the logical subject *mon* resumed by the enclitic pronoun *-m*); *Hasani here-š üa hesta* 'Hasan has three eggs'; *Hasan bi-š bü, avi baduria* '(if) Hasan should have it, he will give it'; *mon pul-em be-bu, pul-ir ba-dur-e-m* '(if) I have money (lit. if there should be money to me), I will give your money (back)'; *mon ni-m-u* 'I did not have' (lit. there was not to me, *-m* being the enclitic pronoun).

17.0. 'To want to, must'

17.1. As in Tāleši dialects a single stem *pist* serves in the meaning of 'to want to' and 'must' with oblique or enclitic pronouns as its agent. The same form is used for both past and present tenses, e.g., *mān pista beru-m ru pi(n)š teman be-de-m* 'I want to/must give my brother five tomans'; *po(r) mān pista māliyāt-em be-du-r-a-y, ni-m dura* 'last year, I wanted to/had to pay taxes, (but) have not paid (lit. have not given)'; *mon pist-em-a ke bešum doktor* 'I want to/must go to a doctor'. In rapid speech *-t* is dropped, thus *pisma* 'I want to', *pisra* 'you want to', etc. (I did not come across *pi-*, the present stem as found in Tāleši dialects). Xoy.: *mon pistema ke bešum di* 'I wanted to go to the village'.

17.2. There are two other verbs used in the sense of 'to want to' both with normal conjugation; one is the single stem verb (*h*)*ušt-*, the other *god-*, which in fact means 'to do' (examples all in the continuous present), e.g., *en-im (h)ušte ke zura-m ru žan bestarem* 'I want to get a wife for my son'; *ena (h)ušte ke umara sur zura-š ru vayra kari* 'he wants to make a wedding for his son in the coming year'; *te eniš (h)ušte ke 'you want to'; pur en-u-m (h)ušte ke žan bestare* 'last year, I wanted to take a wife' (one expects *bestarem*, but it seems that *-m* provides agent also for *bestare*?); *Hasan ena (h)ušte ku ...* 'Hasan wanted to ...'; *mon an-im/en-em gode ke bešum di* 'I want to go to the village'; *pur enum gode ke žan bestare* 'last year, I wanted to take a wife'.

18.0. 'To become'

18.1. The *Present* of 'to become' is formed by the enclitic form of the present of 'to be' followed by *-ab*. In the 3rd person, however, a connective *b* comes between the ending *-a* and *-ab*, e.g., 1. *emi beharum, nāsāz im-ab*, 2. *emi beharuš, nāsāz iš-ab*, 3. *emi beharu, nāsāz a-b-ab*, 4. *-umun nāsāz imun-ab*, 5. *-ur nāsāz ir-ab*, 6. *-und nāsāz ind-ab* '(if) I ate this, I would become sick, (if) you ate this, you would become sick, etc.'.

18.2. The *Preterit* is formed by the past stem *ber-* and personal endings which consist of the enclitic form of the present of 'to be', e.g., *enind ute ke Hasan pur bera nāsāz* 'they are saying that last year Hasan became sick'. The complete paradigm is: *mān pur ber-im nāsāz, te ber-iš nāsāz, av ber-a nāsāz, ber-imun nāsāz, ber-ir nāsāz, ber-ind nāsāz* 'last year, I became sick', etc. (I could not elicit a different form for the perfect).

18.3. The *Continuous past/Imperfect* is formed by the free-standing preterit of the auxiliary 'to be' (which is conjugated), followed by the past stem *ber-*, e.g., (Xoy.) *aisa ke mān an-u-m nāsāz ber* 'whenever I would become sick'.

18.4. The *pluperfect* is formed by the past stem *ber-* and the pluperfect of 'to be', e.g., *mān pur ber-u-m nāsāz, ber-u-š nāsāz, ber-u nāsāz* 'I had become sick, you had become sick, etc.'.

Postpositions & Prepositions

17.0. The following postpositions were noted:

- (a) *ona* (sometimes shortened to *on*) 'with', *Hasani ona beš!* 'go with Hasan!'
- (b) *ku* 'from', *Hasani ku beporst!* 'ask Hasan!'
- (c) *ru/ro* 'for, to', *Hasani ru be(v)ut!* 'say to Hasan!'
- (d) *da* (apparently Turk.) 'in', *Kalāsūr da vinda nibab* 'it is not seen in Kalāsūr' (*ni-b-ab* 'does not become').
- (e) *and/ānd/āndal/āndā* 'in, to', *Xoynarud ānd vinda nibab* 'it is not found in Xoynarudi'; *Songin ānd(ā) dira bama* 'it is found in Songin (a village; lit. 'comes seen in Songin')'. This postposition also appears as a preposition; as such, it indicates motion towards, e.g., *bezi beba ānd cöl!* 'take the goat outdoors!'; *šerim ānda ago* 'I went there'; *ānda ešten yān* 'towards yourself'.
- (f) *ar(e)* 'from'; Xoy., *šerund čemun düm ar* 'they went after them' (lit. from the tail of them); *mambar ar imar ar!* 'come down from the pulpit!'; *bün ar are vu!* 'from the roof come down!'. It was explained by the informant that *are* means 'down', but it can also follow a noun as a postposition in the sense of 'from' (in the examples apparently it is repeated, once in the sense of 'from' and the second time in the sense of 'down'); cf. *māšin ar ginesta are* 'he has fallen down from the car', *māšin ar are ne-ginesta* 'he has not fallen down from the car'.
- (g) *bab* 'from' used as both pre- and post-position, e.g., *bab en taraf are-vu* 'come down from this side'; *utuq bab pe-vu!* 'come out from the room!'; *Mazqar bab Mallu Hasan-eš ... verān-ča!* 'he sent Mulla Hasan from Mazqar (a village)!'

18.0. Word Formation

18.1. A number of adjectives are formed by adding *-en* to a noun, e.g. *zuren* 'strong', *hūšen* 'clever', *dimen* 'face up', *vunen* 'bloody', *āspen* 'mounted, horseman', *pulen* 'moneyed, wealthy'.

18.2. Some adjectives are formed by adding the suffix *-eq* to a noun: *ašrār-eq* 'tumultuous' (*ašrār*, plural of Arab-Pers. *šarir* 'malfeasant'); *xānxān-eq* 'disorderly' (i.e., a situation where there are many *khāns*, Persian *khānkhāni*). This suffix is common also in Azeri Turkish, except that in Azeri the vowel before *q* is *-o-* or *-ə-*.